DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 183 454 SO 012 380

AUTHOR Kramer, Ronald C.
TITLE Critical Criminology in the Classroom.
PUB DATE 30 Aug 79
NOTE 22p.; Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (74th, Boston, MA, August 30, 1979)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Concept Formation; Concept Teaching; Course Descriptions; *Crime; *Criminology; *Definitions; Educational Objectives; Higher Education; Intellectual Disciplines; *Legal Education; Social Science Research; Sociology; Speeches; *Teaching Methods

ABSTRACT

The major objective of the labeling perspective and conflict/power approaches to teaching college level criminology is to increase student understanding of crime as a sociological phenomenon. The labeling perspective maintains that the way in which criminology concepts are defined influences the kinds of questions and issues which are focused upon. Conflict/power approaches assume that criminality is not a particular behavior although it is defined as behavior by those who create and administer the criminal law. The author proposes that criminology teachers can help students understand the importance of labels and the process of criminalization by organizing an introductory criminology course around five major topics: 1) comparison of definitions of crime as behavior and crime as legal status, 2) investigation of bias in crime statistics, 3) historical, analytical, and critical survey of criminological theory, 4) review of literature on criminal laws, law enforcement, structure and functioning of criminal courts, and the correctional process, and 5) types of criminal behavior including violent, property, corporate, occupational, public order, organized, professional, and political. Course materials are suggested and briefly annotated, case studies are cited, and a course outline is presented. (DB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED183454

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Ronald C. Kramer
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CRITICAL CRIMINOLOGY IN THE CLASSROOM

Ronald C. Kramer
Department of Sociology
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008

SO 012 380

Paper presented at the 74th Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Boston, Massachusetts, August 30, 1979

In the past two decades, mainstream criminology has been challenged by the labeling perspective and a variety of conflict/power approaches, including a radical, Marxist criminology. These challenges represent important "new directions in criminological theory" (Gibbons, 1979), and they need to be more explicitly incorporated into the criminology courses that we teach. In this paper, I want to suggest how one might integrate the insights of the labeling perspective and the various conflict/power approaches with mainstream criminological theory in the traditional introductory criminology course.

The key to this integration is to organize the course around the theme that crime is not merely a type of social behavior, but rather a social label or a legal status which is ascribed to behaviors and persons through a socio-political process. Central to the course, therefore, is the description and explanation of this "criminalization process" (Hartjen, 1978), with a stress on the paramount explanatory significance of social conflict and power (Turk, 1977). In addition, by focusing on the criminalization process, one is also led to investigate the illegal and harmful organizational behavior of corporations and government agencies, which is rarely labeled as crime.

Defining Crime

The major problem confronting the criminology instructor at the outset of the course is how to define the central concept of crime. Definitions, of course, are neither right nor wrong, but rather, useful or not. Definitions are important, however, for as Barlow (1978:6) points out, they "often influence the kinds of questions and issues we raise and where we focus our attention."

Mainstream criminology has traditionally defined crime as a type of behavior, a human act which violates the criminal law. Crime was assumed to be a type of behavior which was intrinsically real, objectively given, and determined by antecedent factors (Thio, 1978). Criminological theory and research, therefore, has focused almost exclusively on the description of the nature, extent and distribution of criminal behavior and the explanation of the causes of criminal behavior in order to predict and control it (Gibbons, 1979).

The new challenges to mainstream criminology, however, define crime in a radically different way. The central unifying theme running throughout both the labeling perspective and the variety of conflict/power approaches is that crime is a label or a legal status and not a type of behavior (Becker, 1963; Turk, 1969; Quinney, 1970; Schur, 1971; Chambliss, 1974; Hartjen, 1978). It is assumed that no behavior is inherently criminal. Criminality is not a quality which resides within behavior, rather it is a status which is ascribed to behavior by those who create and administer the criminal law. From within this paradigm, criminological theory and research focuses on the "criminalization process" (Hartjen, 1978), the transformation of behaviors and persons into crimes and criminals through the creation of criminal laws and categories, the enforcement of criminal laws, and the functioning of the criminal justice system.

By defining crime as a label or a legal status, and making the criminalization process the central focus of attention, a criminology instructor can easily incorporate the theoretical insights of the labeling perspective and the conflict/power approaches into the introductory criminology course.

Furthermore, I would argue that it is extremely important that criminology instructors do present these "new directions in criminological theory" to their students, for they are essential to the development of a critical understanding of crime as a sociological phenomenon.

Before I suggest, in more specific terms, how one might organize a criminology course which describes and explains the definitional realities of crime mentioned above, I feel that it is important to make three caveats. First of all, I realize that the approach I am suggesting is not entirely new. Over twenty years ago George Vold (1958:vi) pointed out that there is "always a dual problem of explanation ... that of accounting for the behavior as behavior, and equally important, accounting for the definitions by which specific behavior comes to be considered as crime or non-crime." One can, of course, find similar ideas in the history of criminological thought. Only recently, however, has any systematic theoretical and empirical work been carried out on the definitional realities of crime, and few criminology courses make this approach their central focus of attention.

Second, I am not advocating that we ignore the behavioral definition of crime or the theory and research which has been produced by mainstream criminologists. We need to describe and explain to our students the wide variety of behaviors which have been identified as criminal. What I am advocating, however, is that we make the labeling definition of crime more central to the organization of our criminology courses. I am in complete agreement with Barlow (1978:62) who has stated:

> We only achieve an incomplete grasp of the crime scene if we treat crime as either behavior or status, but not both. To

> understand the crime scene we must ask not only why certain activities, people, and groups come to be labeled criminals, but also why people engage in such activities. ... A theory of criminology that focuses only on crime as status, and on the processes and effects of conferring that status, is as inadequate, in my view, as one that focuses only on why and how people behave in ways defined as criminal.

Finally, I want to point out that both the labeling perspective and the conflict/power approaches have been applied to the explanation of the behavioral realities of crime. Much of the theory and research that goes under the banner of labeling theory, for example, concerns the effects that labeling someone as criminal can have on their subsequent behavior (Lemert, 1972; Gove, 1975). The Marxist approach argues that the political and economic institutions of a capitalistic social structure produce and distribute social conditions which force certain groups to engage in criminal behavior (Spitzer, 1975; Quinney, 1977). Both of these questions are important but neither constitutes the central thrust of the theoretical perspectives from which they were derived. By focusing too narrowly on these questions we divert attention away from the labeling or criminalization process. Again, it is the description and explanation of this socio-political process which I feel must be made central to the criminology courses we teach.

COURSE ORGANIZATION

In this section I want to suggest how one might organize an introductory criminology course explicitly around the themes of a labeling-conflict/power approach. Appendix 1 presents an outline for such a course. There are five major topics: 1) the introduction, 2) the production of crime statistics, 3) a historical survey of criminological theory, 4) the criminalization

process, and 5) types of criminal behavior. Each of these topics will be discussed in turn.

The Introduction

The introductory section of the course is the most important, for in this section the instructor lays the foundation for the course and erects a framework for students to fill in as they progress through the course. In the introductory section the instructor must present the two distinctive definitions of crime (crime as behavior and crime as legal status) and discuss with the students the implications of using either one to study crime. I always start with the definition of crime as a label or legal status since it is the most difficult idea to get across to students. In addition it allows me to point out the importance of the criminalization process, to note that the harmful and illegal organizational behaviors of corporations and government agencies are rarely criminalized, and to introduce to the students the concepts of social conflict and power which can be utilized to explain these phenomena.

How does an instructor convey to students in an introductory criminology course, however, the notion that crime is not merely a type of behavior, but rather a social label, a legal status, an ideological construct even? The task is not easy. Most students come into a criminology course with commonsensical and stereotypical ideas about crime and criminals. It is often difficult for students to shift their perspective on crime, to see that crime involves more than just harmful behaviors engaged in by bad people. Simply lecturing about crime as a label is often not enough.

To help students understand the labeling approach to crime I have devised a little exercise for them to do on the first full day of class. At the beginning of the period I hand out a questionnaire to each student. The questionnaire describes ten different situations in which a social actor (an individual or an organization) takes the life of a human being. For each of these situations, the students are asked to respond to the following sets of questions: 1) In your personal opinion, is this act a crime? Yes or no? Why or why not? 2) Do you think that the legal authorities would define this act as a crime? Yes or no? Why or why not? If yes, what do you think the punishment would be for the social actor who engaged in this behavior. The situations are as follows:

1. Two men drinking in a downtown bar begin to quarrel over some money one owes the other. As the argument grows more heated, the first man slugs the second man who then pulls out a handgun and shoots the first man to death.

2. A corporation discovers that a product it is about to manufature is unsafe. Since so much money has been put into the development of this product, however, the corporation goes ahead and produces it anyway and releases it to consumers with the result that a number of people are killed by the product.

3. A police officer commands a 15-year-old burglary suspect to halt. The young man, however, continues to flee. The police officer, after firing a warning shot, then shoots the young man in the back, killing him.

4. During a violent quarrel, a husband strikes his wife repeatedly. She runs to the kitchen, grabs a knife, returns, and stabs him to death.

5. A corporation discovers that its factory workers are being exposed to a substance which is known to cause a rare form of cancer and that some of the workers have already died of the disease. Fearing lawsuits, the corporation does not inform the workers of the risk, and due to the cost, the corporation does nothing to protect employees from the substance, insuring that more will die of the cancer.

6. A young man shoots and kills a bank guard during a robbery attempt.

7. A young nurse, filled with compassion for the suffering, quietly turns off the life support machinery of several terminally ill patients.

8. A woman, four months pregnant, goes to a physician who aborts the fetus.

9. The State of Florida straps a man into the electric chair and kills him by electricution.

10. A drunken driver causes an automobile accident which takes the life of a young mother.

After the students have read the situations and answered the questions we begin to discuss their answers concerning each situation. Usually the students disagree among themselves as to whether a specific behavior is or is not a crime. For certain situations the debate becomes quite lively (e.g., wife killing husband, corporation killing employees, abortion, mercy killing, capital punishment). Throughout the discussion, I keep bringing the students back to the more general question of "what is crime?." Concerning the legal authority's definition of these acts as criminal or not the students are usually in agreement as to which ones would be defined as crime and which ones would not. Concerning the punishment, however, there are usually disagreements.

At the end of the discussion, I try to impress upon the students the following points:

1. Abstractly, each of these behaviors is identical. In each case we have a social actor willfully taking the life of a human being, an act which technically violates the criminal law.

2. Many of you disagreed among yourselves as to whether some of these behaviors were criminal or not.

3. You did agree that the legal authorities would define some of these behaviors as criminal and some they would not.

4. Therefore, if in the abstract these acts are identical, yet they are not all defined or treated as crimes, crime must not be a quality of the behavior itself.

5. If crime is not inherent in the behavior itself, then crime must depend upon the way in which these acts are perceived and responded to by certain people, especially legal authorities.

6. Therefore, crime is not simply a type of behavior, but a social label attached to behavior, a legal status ascribed to behavior by those legal authorities who create and administer the criminal law.

These points then serve as the basis for a lecture in which the two different definitions of crime are formally presented and then elaborated on. Having completed the exercise described above, most students find it easier to grasp the idea that crime can be defined in two radically different ways. They better understand that crime is both an act which violates the criminal law and a legal status ascribed to behavior by those who create and administer the criminal law.

Once students begin to understand that crime is a label which is attached to certain kinds of behavior and certain types of people they often begin to ask some tough questions. Why are some behaviors defined as criminal while other, equally harmful behaviors are not? Why are some acts which appear to be harmless defined as crimes? Why are certain social groups more likely to be ascribed the status of criminal than others? Who makes the decisions about which behaviors and persons to label as criminal? What factors influence these decisions? What are the social, political and economic consequences of labeling or defining behavior as criminal?

These questions, of course, lead to a direct examination of the criminalization process: the creation of criminal laws and categories of legal deviance, the enforcement of criminal laws, the administration of criminal justice, and the punishment and/or treatment of convicted criminals. Such a focus then allows the instructor to point out that corporations and governmental agencies engage in illegal and harmful behaviors which are rarely labeled as criminal. Why is that? Shouldn't criminologists also study these organizational behaviors? Finally, such a focus allows the instructor to introduce the conflict/power approaches to criminology, asking students to assess the utility of these theories, especially Marxian theory, for explaining the criminalization process that exists in our society. With this framework erected, the instructor can move on to the substantive topics of the course, constantly attempting to weave these issues and concepts back into the analysis of these substantive areas throughout the course.

The Production of Crime Statistics

I agree with Hartjen (1978:185) that "a thorough understanding of crime cannot be achieved without some attention to criminal statistics." After the introduction to the course, therefore, I spend some time discussing crime statistics and the production of crime rates with my students. First, I point out that with a behavioral definition of crime, the criminologists concern is to obtain valid and reliable measures of the amount of criminal behavior and its social distribution. Then we critically examine the methods which are used to measure the extent and distribution of crime in our society, especially the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. We investigate the manner in which these statistics are produced, assess the probable sources of error, compare them with the results of victimization surveys and self-report studies, and attempt to determine what these statistics actually tell us about crime in the United States.

Given the questions which can be raised concerning the reliability and validity of crime statistics, we then examine those statistics from the labeling perspective. This perspective, rather than viewing criminal statistics as an accurate measure of the amount of criminal behavior in society, views them instead as an index of the organizational activity of official agencies: As Hartjen (1978:200) points out:

> If crime is defined as a label imposed upon behavior, the rates of crime reported by official agencies are perfectly accurate measures ... of the amount of social labeling taking place in any society. They measure the productivity of official agencies. In short, they indicate the degree of concern a society has with crime.

From the labeling perspective, therefore, we investigate the social production of crime statistics by official agencies and the way in which

these production practices shape the social and legal reality of crime. Furthermore, from this perspective, "variations in crime rates need not be explained as a result of differences in the criminality of groups" (Hartjen, 1978:200). The labeling approach suggests that differences in group patterns of criminality may be the result of differential processing of suspects by the criminal justice system or the differential likelihood of detection for certain behaviors and groups, rather than the result of differential criminal involvement (Sheley, 1979:56-57).

Criminological Theory

Following a discussion of the production of crime statistics, I present to the class a historical, analytical and critical survey of criminological theory. This survey is historical so that students can understand the social context out of which criminological theories have emerged, see the development of criminological theory over time and see the inter-relationships which exist among the different theories and perspectives. The survey is analytical in that criminological theory is broken down into the different perspectives and theories so that students gain some awareness of the various traditions and schools of thought that have influenced the development of criminology. Finally, the survey is critical in that the different theories and perspectives are evaluated on their explanatory utility and empirical fit.

The survey starts with a discussion of the classical, neo-classical, and positivistic schools of criminology. Then we review the biological, psychological and sociological perspectives on crime causation and the variety of theories within each of these perspectives. Within the sociological

perspective, we discuss both the structural and process theories. Finally, we review the "new directions in criminological theory," stressing the historical development of the labeling perspective and its relationship to the emergence of the new conflict/power approaches, especially radical, Marxist criminology.

The Criminalization Process

Following our discussion of the development of the labeling and conflict/power perspectives, and the relationship between them, we begin to analyze the criminalization process. In this section of the course I attempt to describe and explain to the students how certain behaviors get transformed into crimes, how certain types of people are ascribed the legal status of criminals, and in general, how the social reality of crime in our society gets constructed.

There are four major topics in this section on the criminalization process. First, we examine the creation of criminal laws and criminal categories, reviewing the theoretical and empirical literature in this area and focusing more specifically on theories of power. Second, we investigate the enforcement of criminal laws, directing attention especially to theory and research concerning the discretionary decision to arrest. Next we attempt to describe and explain the structure and functioning of the criminal court, devoting special attention to the prosecutor's decision to charge, the plea bargaining process, and the judge's decision concerning sentencing. Finally, we examine the correctional process, noting especially the consequences of punishing and treating convicted criminals. All of these topics

are approached from a labeling perspective. Little or no attention is given to behavioral questions concerning the control and prevention of criminal behavior.

Types of Criminal Behavior

In the final section of the course I attempt to deal more systematically with the behavioral realities of crime. A typology of criminal behavior systems is constructed (following Clinard and Quinney, 1973) and presented to the class. Then I attempt to describe and explain each of these criminal behavior systems. The specific types of criminal behavior which are examined here include: crimes of interpersonal violence (homicide, assault, and forcible rape), property crimes (robbery, burglary, larceny), corporate crimes (price-fixing, consumer fraud, manufacture of unsafe products), occupational crimes (embezzlement, employee theft, computer crimes), public order crimes (sexual offenses, drug violations, gambling), organized crime, professional crime and political crime.

Although this section focuses on the behavioral realities of crime, the labeling approach is still woven into the analysis of each criminal behavior system. This is due to the theoretical dimensions used by Clinard and Quinney (1973) to construct their typology of criminal behavior. These theoretical dimensions were: 1) legal aspects of selected offenses, 2) criminal career of the offender, 3) group support of criminal behavior, 4) correspondence between criminal and legitimate behavior, and 5) societal reaction and legal processing. By considering the legal aspects of the offense and the societal reaction to and legal processing of each type of

behavior, it is possible to incorporate the labeling view of crime into the analysis of criminal behavior systems.

COURSE MATERIALS

Criminology instructors who choose to organize their courses in the manner described above have often been frustrated by the lack of reading materials for a criminology course of this kind. Introductory criminology textbooks have not, traditionally, dealt with crime as a social label or legal status. Few criminology texts make the labeling and conflict/power approaches central to the organization of the text, let alone provide adequate coverage of these perspectives. This is changing, however. More and more criminology textbooks are beginning to incorporate an analysis of the definitional realities of crime. In this section, I want to mention some of these books which could be used in the kind of criminology course I have been describing (see Appendix 2).

In terms of a general text for a labeling-conflict/power approach to teaching criminology I would recommend Hugh D. Barlow's Introduction to Criminology (1978), and Clayton A. Hartjen's Crime and Criminalization (1978). Both define crime as a label or legal status, as well as a type of behavior, and both explore the implications of adopting either of these definitions. Hartjen then focuses exclusively on the criminalization process, while Barlow's larger, more extensive book covers crime as both status and behavior. For those interested in a general text organized around a conflict/power approach I recommend Richard Quinney's Criminology (1979) and Criminology: Power, Crime, and Criminal Law (1977) by John F. Galliher and James L. McCartney.

In terms of specific topics, a number of other books need to be mentioned.

Jeffrey H. Reiman's, The Rich Get Richer and The Poor Get Prison (1979) provides an excellent conflict/power analysis of the criminalization process demonstrating the relationship between ideology, class and criminal justice in America. Richard Quinney's Class, State and Crime (1977) presents a Marxist analysis of the theory and practice of criminal justice. Understanding Crime (1979) by Joseph F. Sheley has an excellent chapter on patterns of criminal behavior and ways to interpret these patterns, as well as a very good chapter on criminal labels. Don C. Gibbons in The Criminological Enterprise (1979) presents a balanced review of both "mainstream" criminological theory and the "new directions" in criminological theory. Finally, I recommend Marshall B. Clinard and Richard Quinney's Criminal Behavior Systems (1973) for excellent discussions of various types of criminal behavior which also incorporate the definitional aspects of crime.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have tried to suggest how one might integrate the insights of the labeling perspective and the various conflict/power approaches with mainstream criminology in the traditional introductory course in criminology. The key to this integration, I have suggested, is to organize the course around the theme that crime is a label or a legal status and not merely a type of behvavior. By making this theme central to the course, we direct attention to the "criminalization process" and stress the explanatory significance of the concepts of social conflict and power. The course organization I have suggested is, of course, only one way in which these perspectives could be incorporated into the traditional criminology course.

The important thing is that they be incorporated somehow, for such a course would have much to offer to our students. As Clayton Hartjen (1978-232) has put it:

> It can alert the student of social phenomena to alternative images of the world and alternative ways of looking at it. In this way the study of social phenomena can be a liberating adventure that frees the individual from the bondage of his or her own conceptual limitations by awakening the individual to other possibilities. This is probably the major contribution criminology can hope to make. It is time that criminologists shared more fully in that adventure.

Appendix 1

INTRODUCTION TO CRIMINOLOGY

Course Outline

I. Introduction: Crime, Criminal Law and Criminology

- A. Crime as a Label
- B. Crime as Behavior
- C. Conflict, Power and Criminal Law
- D. The Criminalization Process

II. The Production of Crime Statistics

- A. Official Statistics
- B. Victim Surveys and Self Report Studies
- C. The Social Production of Crime Rates

III. Criminological Theory

- A. Classical and Positivistic Criminology
- B. Biological and Psychological Theories
- C. Social Structural Theories
- D. Social Process Theories
- E. New Directions in Criminological Theory
  - 1. The Labeling Perspective
  - 2. Conflict/Power Approaches

IV. The Criminalization Process

- A. The Creation of Criminal Laws and Categories
- B. Enforcing Criminal Law: The Police Decision to Arrest
- C. The Criminal Courts
- D. The Correctional Process

V. Types of Criminal Behavior

- A. Crimes of Interpersonal Violence
- B. Property Crimes
- C. Corporate Crimes
- D. Occupational Crimes
- E. Public Order Crimes
- F. Organized Crime
- G. Professional Crime
- H. Political Crime

Appendix 2

INTRODUCTION TO CRIMINOLOGY

Recommended Coruse Materials

General: Barlow (1978)
Hartjen (1978)
Quinney (1979)
Galliher and McCartney (1977)

I. Introduction
Barlow (1978), Chapter 1
Hartjen (1978), Chapter 1

II. The Production of Crime Statistics
Barlow (1978), Chapter 3
Sheley (1979), Chapter 2
Hartjen (1978), Chapter 7

III. Criminological Theory
Barlow (1978), Chapter 2
Hartjen (1978), Chapter 3
Sheley (1979), Chapter 4
Gibbons (1979) All

IV. The Criminalization Process
Reiman (1979), All
Hartjen (1978), Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6
Quinney (1977), All
Barlow (1978), Chapters 11, 12, 13

V. Types of Criminal Behavior
Clinard and Quinney (1973), All
Barlow (1978), Chapters 4 - 10

References

Barlow, Hugh D.

1978 Introduction to Criminology. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Becker, Howard S.

1963 Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. New York: The Free Press.

Chambliss, William J.

1974 "The state, the law, and the definition of behavior as criminal or delinquent" in Daniel Glaser (ed.), Handbook of Criminology. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Clinard, Marshall B. and Richard Quinney

1973 Criminal Behavior Systems: A Typology. Second Edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Galliher, John F. and James L. McCartney

1977 Criminology: Power, Crime and Criminal Law. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press.

Gibbons, Don C.

1979 The Criminological Enterprise: Theories and Perspectives. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Gove, Walter

1975 The Labelling of Deviance: Evaluating a Perspective. New York: Sage Publications.

Hartjen, Clayton A.

1978 Crime and Criminalization. (Second Edition). New York: Praeger.

Lemert, Edwin M.

1972 Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Quinney, Richard

1970 The Social Reality of Crime. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Quinney, Richard

1977 Class, State and Crime. New York: David McKay.

1979 Criminology (Second Edition). Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Reiman, Jeffrey

1979 The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Prison. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Sheley, Joseph F.

1979 Understanding Crime. Belmont, California: Wadsworth.

Schur, Edwin M.

1971 Labeling Deviant Behavior: Its Sociological Implications. New York: Harper and Row.

Spitzer, Steven

1975 "Toward a Marxian theory of deviance." Social Problems 22(June): 638-651.

Thio, Alex

1978 Deviant Behavior. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Turk, Austin T.

1969 Criminality and Legal Order. Chicago: Rand McNally.

1977 "Class, conflict, and criminalization." Sociological Focus 10 (August):209-220.

Vold, George

1958 Theoretical Criminology. New York: Oxford University Press.